

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-15 ISO-00 SP-02 PER-01 SIG-01 A-01  
MMO-01 EB-08 SCA-01 IO-13 INR-07 PM-04 CU-02  
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NSC-05 TRSE-00 USIA-06 /083 W  
-----201226Z 024716 /10

R 191400Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9801

INFO AMEMBASSY MBABANE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GABORONE 0897

DEPARTMENT PASS APPROPRIATE POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: AMGP, PFOR, WZ

SUBJECT: ANNUAL POLICY AND RESOURCE ASSESSMENTS

REF: A. CERP 001; B. STATE 38356

1. HERewith PART I (POLICY ASSESSMENT) OF PARM FOR SWAZILAND  
FOR FY 1979:

A. US INTERESTS. I BELIEVE USG'S LONG-TERM INTERESTS IN STABLE,  
MODERATE, BLACK MAJORITY-RULED SWAZILAND ARE TWOFOLD:

(1) SWAZILAND'S POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO PEACEFUL  
TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AS EXAMPLE  
OF ALTERNATIVE TO APARTHEID AND WHITE MINORITY-RULED GOV-  
ERNMENT (SOUTH AFRICA) ON ONE HAND AND AS EXAMPLE OF ALTER-  
NATIVE TO RADICAL GOVERNMENT (MOZAMBIQUE) ON OTHER.

(2) SWAZILAND'S CONTRIBUTION IN MULTILATERAL FORA TO  
MODERATE SOLUTIONS FOR GLOBAL PROBLEMS, INCLUDING NORTH-  
SOUTH ISSUES, AND ITS SUPPORT FOR US POSITIONS, INCLUDING  
SPECIFICALLY FOR US VIEW THAT WORLD BODIES SHOULD AVOID  
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INTERFERENCE IN US DOMESTIC POLITICAL AFFAIRS, E.G., PUERTO  
RICO AND GUAM. SWAZILAND'S POLITICAL OUTLOOK THROUGH FY 1979  
THUS APPEARS TO PARALLEL (AND IN NO MAJOR RESPECT CONTRADICT)  
US CONCERNS AS SET FORTH IN S/P AND AF POLICY PAPERS BOTH  
OF WHICH STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO  
MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND GREATER COOPERATION  
ON NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC ISSUES.

(3) WE ASSUME THAT US INTEREST IN HAVING MAXIMUM FOR ITS POSITIONS IN THE UN WILL CONTINUE IN FY 1979. THIS VOTE-GARNERING EFFORT THEREFORE ALSO RATES MENTION AS ONE OF USG'S LONG-TERM INTERESTS -- EVEN IN SMALL COUNTRY LIKE SWAZILAND -- AS LONG AS ONE COUNTRY/ONE VOTE SITUATION PREVAILS IN WORLD BODIES.

B. OVERVIEW. I FORESEE THREE ENVIRONMENTAL DEVELOPMENTS THAT, BY FY 1979, WILL BE OF IMPORTANCE TO US INTERESTS IN SWAZILAND:

(1) INCREASED MOZAMBICAN INFLUENCE AND ACTIVITY IN SWAZILAND, E.G., BY CONTINUED INFILTRATION OF AGENTS. MON-ARCHIC SWAZILAND PERCEIVES THIS AS GREATEST THREAT TO ITS SECURITY AND STABILITY. SECURITY CONTROLS ALONG COUNTRY'S 70-MILE EASTERN BORDER ARE VIRTUALLY NON-EXISTENT. GOS LONG-RANGE POLICY TO DEFUSE THIS THREAT IS RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, WHICH IS APPROPRIATELY WEIGHTED TO EASTERN SWAZILAND. GOS OBJECTIVE IS REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THAT WILL IMPROVE STANDARD OF LIVING IN EASTERN SWAZILAND AND THEREBY REDUCE SUSCEPTIBILITY OF PEASANTRY TO PIE-IN-THE-SKY RHETORIC FROM MOZAMBIQUE. USAID CONTRIBUTION TO THIS RDAP IS SUBSTANTIAL AND WILL CONTINUE THROUGH FY 1979.

(2) POLARIZATION OF BLACK AND WHITE VIEWPOINTS IN SOUTH AFRICA. THIS COULD WELL LEAD TO REPETITION OF SOWETO-TYPE EVENTS THROUGH FY 1979 TRIGGERING RENEWED INFLUX OF REFUGEES INTO SWAZILAND. ALTHOUGH GOS CAN BE EXPECTED TO MAINTAIN ITS POLICY OF PROMOTING REFUGEES' EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOVEMENT OUT OF SWAZILAND, LARGE NUMBER MIGHT REMAIN FOR EXTENDED PERIOD. IF THIS OCCURS, GOS WILL LIKELY REQUEST BILATERAL CONFIDENTIAL

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AS WELL AS MULTILATERAL (UNHCR) ASSISTANCE TO HOUSE, EDUCATE AND COUNSEL THE STATIC REFUGEE POPULATION. USG SHOULD BE PREPARED TO RESPOND BILATERALLY TO APPROPRIATE EXTENT, INCLUDING INCREASING THE NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES IN US FOR SELECTED REFUGEES WITH LEADERSHIP AND INTELLECTUAL POTENTIAL.

(3) TRANSITION. ALTHOUGH THE POSSIBILITY SEEMS REMOTE, 77-YEAR-OLD KING SOBHUZA'S DEATH COULD BE FOLLOWED BY GENERAL DOMESTIC UNREST AND, BY FY 1979, BRING RADICAL ELEMENTS TO POWER. US INTERESTS WOULD MOST LIKELY BE AFFECTED BY ACTIONS AGAINST EXPATRIATES AND THEIR HOLDINGS. HOWEVER, OUR BEST JUDGMENT IS THAT TRANSITION IN POST-SOBHUZA ERA WILL BE CALM UNDER LEADERSHIP OF NEW KING OR REGENT. UNLIKE SOBHUZA, ANY SUCCESSOR WILL LIKELY HAVE TO SHARE SOME DECISION-MAKING RESPONSIBILITY WITH PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES, HOWEVER CHOSEN. ASSUMING TRANSITION LEAVES TRADITIONAL FORCES IN CONTROL, WE WOULD NOT EXPECT US INTERESTS TO BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED.

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INFO OCT-01 SS-15 ISO-00 SP-02 PER-01 SIG-01 A-01  
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-----201230Z 023892 /10

R 191400Z APR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9802  
INFO AMEMBASSY MBABANE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GABORONE 0897

DEPARTMENT PASS APPROPRIATE POLAD

C. OBJECTIVES, COURSES OF ACTION, AND ISSUES.

(1) SWAZILAND'S ABILITY TO REMAIN AS EXAMPLE OF STABLE MULTI-RACIAL STATE WILL DEPEND ON EXTENT TO WHICH IT SUCCESSFUL IN FENDING OFF MOZAMBIKAN CHALLENGE. USG OBJECTIVES SHOULD BE TO ASSIST IT TO DO SO WITHIN THE LIMITS OF OUR ABILITY TO INFLUENCE A TRADITIONAL MONARCH. WE CAN EXPECT TO RECEIVE INCREASINGLY SPECIFIC REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE TO IMPROVE PHYSICAL SECURITY ALONG MOZAMBIQUE BORDER AND TO PROVIDE COUNTER-ESPIONAGE TRAINING TO SWAZILAND POLICE. USG ASSISTANCE IN ENABLING SWAZIS TO PROTECT THEMSELVES WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO STABILITY AND THEREFORE TO US POLICY OBJECTIVES IN THE REGION.

(2) I BELIEVE SWAZILAND'S COOPERATION WITH US ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES WILL BE CONDITIONED SUBSTANTIALY BY GOS' PERCEPTION OF USG INTEREST IN AND RESPONSIVENESS TO, ITS PRINCIPAL CONCERN, I.E., MAINTENANCE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. IN ADDITION TO DIRECT SECURITY-TYPE ASSISTANCE  
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(PARA C(1) ABOVE), US CAN ALSO HELP STABILIZE THE SITUATION BY ENCOURAGING US TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN SWAZILAND. ALTHOUGH MAINLY A REFLECTION OF SWAZILAND'S DESIRE TO LESSEN ITS DEPENDENCE ON SOUTH AFRICA, GOS PROMOTION OF US TRADE AND INVESTMENT TIES HAS ALSO BEEN MOTIVATED, AT LEAST IN PART, BE BELIEF THAT THIS WOULD INSURE GREATER US ATTENTION TO, AND CONCERN FOR, SECURITY OF SWAZILAND. I BELIEVE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT AND OPIC EFFORTS CAN AND SHOULD BE INCREASED IN CALLING ATTENTION OF AMERICAN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY TO ADVANTAGES OF INVESTING IN SWAZILAND. ITS MEMBERSHIP IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN CUSTOMS UNION OPENS DOOR TO RICH SOUTH AFRICAN MARKET BUT ITS BLACK-RULED GOVERNMENT PROVIDES CACHET FOR ENTRY INTO BLACK AFRICAN MARKET AS WELL.

IN SUMMARY, US POLICY OBJECTIVES AND MAJOR COURSES OF ACTION ARE APPROPRIATELY DIRECTED TOWARD (A) PROMOTING A POLITICAL STABILITY IN SWAZILAND, WITHIN THE LIMITS OF OUR ABILITY TO INFLUENCE A TRADITIONAL REGIME, AND (B) SUPPORTING FORCES FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE IN THE REGION. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE (AID) IS OUR PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENT FOR EXERCISING INFLUENCE AND CARRYING OUT THOSE POLICIES; SIGNIFICANT AMOUNTS OF US ASSISTANCE ARE PROPERLY BEING CONTRIBUTED TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN EASTERN SWAZILAND WHERE, THROUGH FY 1979, THE CHALLENGE TO GOS STABILITY (AND TO US INTERESTS) APPEARS TO BE THE GREATEST.

REFUGEE ASSISTANCE WILL CONTINUE TO BE REQUIRED THROUGHOUT THIS PERIOD.

A KEY ISSUE THAT CANNOT WAIT UNTIL FY 1979 IS HOW THE US SHOULD RESPOND TO GOS REQUESTS FOR SECURITY-RELATED ASSISTANCE. MEANWHILE, EFFORTS TO STIMULATE US INVESTMENT IN SWAZILAND SHOULD BE PURSUED STEADILY THROUGH FY 1979 AND THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

(NOTE: SPECIAL MENTION SHOULD BE MADE OF MY RELIANCE ON CONFIDENTIAL

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CHARGE WACHOB IN MAKING THE ABOVE ASSESSMENT GIVEN THE UNUSUAL SITUATION WHEREBY I HAVE AS YET BEEN UNABLE TO VISIT SWAZILAND.) NORLAND

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## Message Attributes

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